Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
833 of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
785 his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
515 wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
753 avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

cause their Echorae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the women living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

Mature women, when menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spatially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the village to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sisters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire. Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony; sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual affairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least during the night. The continuity of the society must be assured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with ceremonies, or to be proud of.

Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs, ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would require the space of another book. With death a man's passage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

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833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
123 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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833 562 123 775 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day: "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down one beside the other, because one day they will die and then they are reunited."

864 115 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 171 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation 562 has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get 224 ready for hunting/the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by [411] observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline; in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

/145 cont./

562 224 833 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his sex: and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 173 [224] Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 833 173 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 839 171 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes visited by me.